

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03240 01 OF 02 030143Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----030200Z 046620 /70
R 030100Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3779

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TAIPEI 3240

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, TW, CH, US
SUBJECT: U.S. REPRESENTATION IN TAIWAN FOLLOWING NORMALIZATION OF
RELATIONS WITH THE PRC

REF: TAIPEI 2517

1. IN ORDER TO HELP FOSTER STABILITY ON TAIWAN FOLLOWING
NORMALIZATION OF US-PRC RELATIONS, ARRANGEMENTS WILL HAVE
TO BE MADE IN ADVANCE TO PROVIDE FOR A POST-NORMALIZATION CHANNEL
OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE US AND TAIWAN GOVERNMENTS AND FOR
THE PERFORMANCE OF A VARIETY OF GOVERNMENTAL FUNCTIONS AND SERVICES
ESSENTIAL TO THE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUN-
TRIES AND THE CONDUCT OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY. THIS IS IM-
PORTANT IF WE ARE TO AVOID AN INTERRUPTION OF THE STRONG
US-TAIWAN COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC LINKS WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL
TO WELL-BEING AND, THEREFORE, STABILITY ON THE ISLAND. THIS
MESSAGE IS INTENDED TO DISCUSS SOME SPECIFICS OF THIS ISSUE
AND TO SUGGEST THAT THE MOST DIRECT AND EFFECTIVE MEANS
OF PROVIDING FOR ALL OF THESE ACTIVITIES WOULD BE TO
ESTABLISH A US CONSULAR FACILITY IN TAIWAN FOLLOWING
THE BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, OR SET UP A TYPE OF
OFFICIAL BUT NON-DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL. A MUCH LESS SATIS-
FACTORY ALTERNATIVE WOULD BE TO FOREGO ANY OFFICIAL
FACILITY, IF SUCH A FACILITY IS DEEMED TO BE A SIGNI-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03240 01 OF 02 030143Z

FICANT OBSTACLE TO PURSUING NORMALIZATION, AND TO SEEK TO
MEET REQUIREMENTS THROUGH ONE OR MORE NON-OFFICIAL ENTITIES
OR CHANNELS. THIS LATTER COURSE RELATES, INTER ALIA, TO
THE SO-CALLED "JAPANESE FORMULA" WHICH IS REPORTED TO BE
ACCEPTABLE TO THE PRC.

2. IN ORDER TO SUPPORT A CONTINUATION OF SOMETHING LIKE

THE PRESENT VERY EXTENSIVE US-TAIWAN ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL AND FINANCIAL INTERCOURSE, THERE MUST BE CHANNEL THROUGH WHICH THE US AND TAIWAN GOVERNMENTS CAN CONTINUE TO DISCUSS AND WORK OUT PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH TRADE, AIR TRAFFIC AND SHIPPING, BANKING AND LOANS, SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR FUEL AND OTHER SUCH MATTERS. FURTHERMORE THE RELATIVELY FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS AND DOCUMENTS MUST ALSO BE ASSURED AND THE PROVISION OF ESSENTIAL SERVICES FOR BOTH AMERICAN AND CHINESE INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE ENGAGED IN TRADE, BANKING, MANUFACTURING ACTIVITIES, ETC. MUST BE PROVIDED. THESE SERVICES INCLUDE HANDLING OF NOTARIALS, DEPOSITIONS, ESTATES, PROTECTION OF CITIZENS, PASSPORTS AND VISAS AND OTHER MATTERS WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD HAVE TO BE CARED FOR IN INDIRECT AND MAKE-SHIFT FASHION. WITHOUT THE REQUISITE CHANNELS AND SERVICES IT APPEARS INEVITABLE THAT COMPLI-CATIONS WOULD ARISE THAT WOULD BE SUFFICIENT IN A SUB-STANTIAL NUMBER OF CASES TO DISCOURAGE AMERICANS FROM DOING BUSINESS WITH AND ON TAIWAN.

3. A CONSULATE OR OTHER OFFICIAL, NON-DIPLOMATIC CHANNEL ALSO COMMENDS ITSELF FOR CERTAIN POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS AS THE MOST SATISFACTORY SUBSTITUTE FOR AN EMBASSY AND, IF THE PROBLEMS IN THE WAY OF THIS ARE NOT INSUPERABLE, IT IS THE STRONGLY RECOMMENDED COURSE. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A CONSULATE FOLLOWING A BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND AN END TO THE SECURITY TREATY WOULD PROVIDE VISIBLE EVIDENCE OF A CONTINUED US PRESENCE AND INTEREST IN THE ISLAND'S CONTINUED STABILITY, WITHOUT, HOWEVER, INDICATING ANY OSTENSIBLE DESIRE OR INTENTION ON OUR PART TO ACCORD TO TAIWAN ANY DIPLOMATIC STATUS. THE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 TAIPEI 03240 01 OF 02 030143Z

PRESENCE OF A CONSULATE WOULD ALSO REDUCE TO SOME EXTENT NEGATIVE REACTION IN THE US, ABROAD AND ESPECIALLY IN EAST ASIA (PARTICULARLY IN JAPAN) TO OUR BREAKING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND ABROGATING THE SECURITY TREATY. THAT SECTOR OF PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNITED STATES WHICH TODAY APPEARS TO VIEW QUITE NEGATIVELY OUR BREAKING RELATIONS WITH THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA MIGHT ACCEPT THIS MORE EASILY IF THERE CONTINUED TO BE SOME OFFICIAL US PRESENCE ON TAIWAN WHICH A CONSULATE WOULD REPRESENT.

4. A US CONSULATE IN TAIPEI DEALING WITH THE LOKG GOVERNMENT (NOT, HOWEVER, ACCORDING IT ANY STATUS AS "THE" OR "A" GOVERNMENT OF CHINA) WOULD GIVE NO GROUNDS FOR A CHARGE BY THE PRC THAT THE UNITED STATES CONTINUED TO RECOGNIZE DE JURE THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA. OUR POSITION WITH THE PRC, WITH WHOM WE PRESUMABLY WOULD HAVE AGREED TO EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS, COULD BE THAT THE PRESENCE OF THE CONSULATE IN TAIPEI FROM A LEGAL POINT OF VIEW REPRESENTS NO DEROGATION FROM ITS POSITION (WHICH WE WOULD NOT CHALLENGE)

THAT TAIWAN IS A PART OF CHINA, THE GOVERNMENT OF WHICH
RESIDES IN PEKING.

5. THE ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF HANDLING CONTINUING OFFICIAL
GOVERNMENT BUSINESS BETWEEN THE US AND TAIWAN FOLLOWING
NORMALIZATION WOULD BE THROUGH SOME NON-OFFICIAL CHANNEL.
THE PRECEDENT OF THE "JAPANESE FORMULA" IS USUALLY CITED
IN THIS CONNECTION ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT IS BELIEVED
THAT PEKING WOULD BE AGREEABLE TO THE ADOPTION OF A SIMILAR
FORMULA BY THE UNITED STATES AND THAT THE "JAPANESE FORMULA"
SEEMS TO "WORK" AS A MEANS OF PROVIDING AN ESSENTIAL CHANNEL
OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN TAIWAN AND JAPAN, SINCE COM-
MERCIAL AND FINANCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES
CONTINUE TO THRIVE. THERE IS A SERIOUS QUESTION, HOWEVER,
WHETHER THE UNITED STATES COULD ADAPT ITS MACHINERY OF
GOVERNMENT SO RADICALLY AS TO OPERATE IN THE OFFICIAL/UNOFFICIAL
MANNER OF THE JAPANESE AND THROUGH A DECLARED "PRIVATE" CHANNEL
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 TAIPEI 03240 01 OF 02 030143Z

LIKE THE JAPANESE INTERCHANGE ASSOCIATION TO CONDUCT OFFICIAL BUSA
INESS AND PROVIDE GOVERNMENT SERVICES SUCH AS THOSE MENTIONED

SECRET

NNN

SECRET

PAGE 01 TAIPEI 03240 02 OF 02 030146Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----030203Z 046741 /70

R 030100Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3780

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TAIPEI 3240

EXDIS

IN PARAGRAPH 2 ABOVE.

6. ESTABLISHING A US CONSULATE ON TAIWAN WHEN NORMALI-
ZATION TAKES EFFECT MAY WELL GO BEYOND WHAT THE PRC HAS
THUS FAR INDICATED IT IS READY TO ACCEPT. I BELIEVE,

HOWEVER, THAT THE US INTEREST IN ESTABLISHING A CONSULATE AFTER OUR RELATIONS WITH PEKING HAVE BEEN NORMALIZED IS SUFFICIENTLY STRONG TO JUSTIFY OUR PUTTING THIS BEFORE PEKING AS PART OF OUR DESIRED POST-NORMALIZATION ARRANGEMENTS IF PRIOR DISCUSSION WITH PEKING IS INDEED REQUIRED ON THIS POINT. I WOULD EXPECT, INCIDENTALLY, THAT SOME KIND OF CONSULAR AGENCY REPRESENTING TAIWAN'S INTERESTS WOULD ALSO HAVE TO MAINTAIN OFFICES IN THE UNITED STATES TO PROVIDE SERVICES SIMILAR TO THOSE MENTIONED ABOVE WHICH ARE OF IMPORTANCE ABOVE ALL TO THE BUSINESS COMMUNITIES OF BOTH COUNTRIES AS WELL AS TO ROC CITIZENS.

7. IF INDEED IT IS CONCLUDED THAT IT WILL NOT BE FEASIBLE TO MAINTAIN A US CONSULAR FACILITY OR SOME OTHER OFFICIAL CHANNEL IN TAIWAN FOLLOWING A BREAK IN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS THEN ALTERNATIVE MEANS OF SATISFYING AS FAR AS POSSIBLE THE REQUIREMENTS SET FORTH ABOVE (PARA 2) MUST BE FOUND IF THE CRITICAL DAMAGE TO STABILITY ON TAIWAN ALSO DISCUSSED ABOVE, IS TO BE AVOIDED. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THOSE ASPECTS OF THE JAPANESE FORMULA WHICH CAN BE
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 TAIPEI 03240 02 OF 02 030146Z

ADAPTED TO US REQUIREMENTS SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ALONG WITH ANY OTHER USEFUL NON-OFFICIAL MECHANISMS.

8. DEPARTMENT MAY WISH PASS PEKING, HONG KONG AND TOKYO.
UNGER

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS ESTABLISHMENT, BRIEFING MATERIALS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 03-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977TAIPEI03240
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770197-0768
Format: TEL
From: TAIPEI
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770691/aaaadbwm.tel
Line Count: 201
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7fa24685-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 77 TAIPEI 2517
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 03-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2281027
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: U.S. REPRESENTATION IN TAIWAN FOLLOWING NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH THE PRC
TAGS: PFOR, PINR, TW, CH, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7fa24685-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009